CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT

CCD/PV.485
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ENGLISH

FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FOUR HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIFTH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Thursday, 6 August 1970, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. G. IGNATIEFF (Canada)

(Previous verbatim records in this series appeared under the symbols ENDC/PV.430)

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PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Argentina:	Mr. C. ORTIZ de ROZAS
	Mr. V.E. DARASATEGUI
Brazil:	Mr. R.E. SARAIVA GUERREIRO
	Mr. D.F. NATARIO
	Mr. L.F. PALMEIRA LAMPREIA
Bulgaria:	Mr. T. PETROV
	Mr. I. PEINIRDJIEV
Burma:	U KYAW MIN
Canada:	Mr. G. IGNATIEFF
	Mr. R.W. CLARK
	Mr. D.W. CAMPBELL
	Mr. R.E. MOORE
Czechoslovakia:	Mr. M. VEJVODA
	Mr. J. STRUCKA
	Mr. F. MARESKA
Ethiopia:	Mr. A. ZELLEKE
	Mr. G. ALEMU
Hungary:	Mr. I. KOMIVES
	Mr. J. PETRAN
	Mr. I. SARKADI
	Mr. F. GAJDA
India:	Mr. K.P. JAIN
Italy:	Mr. R. CARACCIOLO
	Mr. F.L. OTTIERI
	Mr. R. BORSARELLI
	Mr. U. PESTALOZZA

Japan:	Mr. H. TANAKA
	Mr. H. OTSUKA
	Mr. T. SENGOKU
	Mr. J. SAKAMOTO
Mexico:	Mr. A. GARCIA ROBLES
	Mr. M. TELLO
Mongolia:	Mr. D. ERDEMBILEG
	Mr. Z. ERENDO
Morocco:	Mr. M.A.A. KHATTABI
Netherlands:	Mr. H.F. ESCHAUZIER
	Mr. E. BOS
Nigeria:	Mr. C.O. HOLLIST
	Mr. L.A. MALIKI
Pakistan:	Mr. K. AHMED
Poland:	Mr. W. NATORF
	Mr. K. ZYBYLSKI
	Mr. H. STEPOSZ
Romania:	Mr. I. DATCU
	Mr. C. MITRAN
	Mr. N. CHILIE
Sweden:	Mr. A. EDELSTAM
	Mr. R. BOMAN
	Mr. U. ERICSSON
	Mr. J. LUNDIN
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:	Mr. A.A. ROSHCHIN
	Mr. I.I. TCHEPROV
	Mr. L.A. MASTERKOV
	Mr. Y.C. NAZARKINE

United Arab Republic:	Mr. H. KHALLAF
	Mr. O. SIRRY
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United Kingdom:	Mr. I.F. PORTER
	Mr. J.T. MASEFIELD
	Mr. R. HOULISTON
	Mr. L.W. BOYES
United States of America:	Mr. J.F. LEONARD
	Mr. A.F. NEIDLE
	Mr. J. ASDENBERG
	Mr. W. GIVAN
Yugoslavia:	Mr. M. BOZINOVIC
	Mr. M. VUKOVIC
Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General:	Mr. W. EPSTEIN

1. The CHAIRMAN (Canada): I declare open the 485th plenary meeting of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

2. I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Committee to certain working papers which have emerged from yesterday's informal discussion -- presented by Czechoslovakia (CCD/299), by Canada (CCD/300), by Japan (CCD/301), and by Yugoslavia (CCD/302); and I am authorized by one of our co-Chairmen to say that there is also to be a working paper from the delegation of the Soviet Union on the same subject as the others. All these working papers make up a solid body of material to help us in our work.

3. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (interpretation from French): I should like, first of all, to express on behalf of the Romanian delegation our best wishes to the representatives participating in the work of our Committee for the first time, and to those who have returned to our midst after absence for a certain time. In expressing to them our hopes for all success in the fulfilment of the highly important mission entrusted to them by their Governments, I should like to assure them, as I have already had the pleasure to do personally, of our feelings of friendship and our whole-hearted co-operation.

4. The Romanian delegation wishes to devote its statement today to the important questions concerning the Disarmament Decade.

5. As is known, the General Assembly of the United Nations, in its resolution 2602 E (XXIV), has proclaimed the period of the 70s to be the "Disarmament Decade", and has requested our Committee --

> "... to work out at the same time a comprehensive programme, dealing with all aspects of the problem of the cessation of the arms race and general and complete disarmament under effective international control, which would provide the Conference with a guideline to chart the course of its further work and its negotiations," (CCD/275).

By the terms of that resolution our Committee is required "to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session". According to that decision of the General Assembly the establishment of a programme for the Decade is one of the most urgent tasks of our Conference.

6. The time that has elapsed has already given delegations here the opportunity to express their views on that programme. We have noted with interest the proposals and ideas relating to the content of the programme that are contained in the working papers submitted by the delegation of Italy (ENDC/245, 21 April 1969; ENDC/263,

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20 August 1969) and the delegation of the Netherlands (CCD/276, 24 February 1970), and in the statements made here by the delegations of Italy, Canada, Yugoslavia, Japan, Mexico, Poland, the United Arab Republic, Sweden and other States members of the Committee; also the valuable suggestions of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant.

7. During that time the day-to-day contacts and informal exchanges of views which have taken place between delegations, in conjunction with the formal debates, have produced a better understanding of their positions and also some considerations and suggestions that will be useful in drawing up the programme. All this is a noteworthy contribution to the instrument which our Committee is instructed to draft. An important convergence of opinions is already beginning to take shape with respect to the orientation of the programme as a major political action in the field of disarmament, and also to its principal structural elements.

8. The Romanian delegation has already had occasion to set forth its position of principle and to make certain suggestions concerning the Disarmament Decade, when it put forward that idea in the Committee on 3 April 1969 (ENDC/PV.400, paras. 79-82), and also at the twenty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly (A/C.1/PV.1697, provisional, pp.18 et seq.). On 5 March last, on the instructions of the Romanian Government, we submitted for the attention of the Committee (CCD/PV.455, paras. 64 et seq.) a series of proposals aimed at the adoption of urgent measures leading to the cessation of the armaments race and to disarmament, including a proposal on the establishment of a programme of action and concrete measures for the Disarmament Decade (ibid., para.82). The special importance that we attach to the drafting of this programme arises from the firm position of our country in favour of general disarmament and, in the first instance, of nuclear disarmament. That position expresses the deep conviction of the Romanian Government that it is of the utmost urgency to impart a new rhythm to the negotiations -- by determining to direct them towards questions of substance -- and to embark without delay on intensive negotiations likely to lead in the shortest possible time to the execution of practical measures to halt the arms race and to achieve progress towards disarmament.

9. It is the duty of this Committee -- acting with full responsibility and genuinely determined to take effective action -- to proceed to negotiate lasting and just agreements on disarmament which will give all peoples the certainty of peace and security and the sure guarantee that they will be able to devote all their energies and all their resources to peaceful work and to their well-being, sheltered from the danger of war and, first and foremost, of atomic war.

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10. In the light of the foregoing, the Romanian delegation intends today to express its ideas on the scheme and structure of the programme for the Disarmament Decade. Since the programme's object is maximum encouragement of the negotiations and, in general, reinforcement of the efforts devoted to disarmament, it must be based upon a novel scheme for the development of the negotiations, so that they may be pursued unceasingly and with the greatest efficiency.

11. In the first place, the programme of the Disarmament Decade should, in our opinion, put into action a global strategy of disarmament bringing together a coherent series of phased measures designed precisely to achieve the final goal, which is general disarmament. That calls for the drafting of a detailed programme dealing with all the problems of the arms race and of disarmament, as called for by General Assembly resolution 2602 E (XXIV). We envisage the programme -- and it is easy to note a similar approach by other delegations — not as a simple inventory listing the problems, but on the contrary as a measure of substance, an important political action taking shape in a detailed programme clearly defining the objectives of the disarmament negotiations and the tasks falling to our Committee at each stage of its activities.

12. The Deputy Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, Mr. Anton Vratusa, said on 14 July:

> "The General Assembly's request places before us ... the task of elaborating such a comprehensive programme as will not only advance the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament but also promote the activity of the international community at large." (CCD/PV.478, para.75)

13. Secondly, and as a logical consequence, it is particularly important that the entire orientation of the programme, its fundamental aims and objectives, should be strictly subordinated to the essential requirement that, from the Decade's very beginning, effective steps should be taken towards the reduction and cessation of the arms race and the achievement of disarmament. By declaring general disarmament to be its fundamental objective, the programme should enshrine the political will of States to do their best to achieve that end. A special place in the programme should be allotted to provisions relating to the negotiation of agreements on nuclear disarmament -- thus giving that negotiation high priority.

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14. The programme should also contain a series of partial measures whose implementation should contribute to bringing us closer to the final goal of the negotiations: general disarmament and, first and foremost, nuclear disarmament. Based upon the realities, the programme would be so drawn up as to represent a practical plan of action whose gradual achievement would reduce and ultimately remove the threat of war and eliminate recourse to force and the threat of its use in international relations.

15. The programme must be established in accordance with the criteria of importance, urgency and stability for the whole duration of the Decade, so that the Committee can report to the General Assembly from year to year on its tangible results. As the representative of Canada -- you, Mr. Chairman -- stated on 23 July, the General Assembly resolution must be considered as "an incentive to achieve systematic progress in the next ten years on effective measures of arms control and disarmament." (CCD/PV.481, para. 55)

16. Thirdly, the programme for the Decade would be correlated with the full range of concerns and actions of the international community aimed at strengthening peace and security in the world and at promoting peaceful co-operation between nations. It must be based on the relations of interdependence established in the world of today and strengthened by the scientific and technological revolution, and enshrine the close connexion between disarmament measures and the strengthening of peace and security.

17. At the same time, in view of the positive effects that disarmament would have on the process of development, it appears necessary to correlate the Disarmament Decade with the Second United Nations Development Decade. Indeed, that approach to the problem will be found also in General Assembly resolution 2602 E (XXIV).

18. Fourthly, the programme must express the principle of the universality of efforts to achieve disarmament, which requires conditions enabling all States to express their views and participate in the solution of the important problems of disarmament.

19. The Romanian delegation considers that the programme for the Decade could constitute an appropriate framework for practical action to fulfil the undertakings assumed under the non-proliferation Treaty (ENDC/226*), which places parties under a legal obligation to pursue negotiations on disarmament, expressly states the principle of good faith, and establishes the objectives towards which the efforts of States must be directed at all times.

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20. We should now like to submit for the attention of the Committee certain ideas and suggestions of the Romanian delegation concerning the structure and content of the disarmament programme; because we are convinced that these, together with the opinions and suggestions of other delegations, can help in the drafting of that important document which our Committee must submit to the General Assembly at its next session.

21. Guided by the criteria of effectiveness and order in our work, we believe that the programme's structure should be based on the following categories of problems: fundamental purposes and principles; measures to halt the armaments race and achieve disarmament; ways and means of giving effect to the programme for the Disarmament Decade.

22. First, it is necessary to give an important place in the programme to action aimed at defining, in the light of the United Nations Charter and other international instruments and with due regard to all the experience already acquired and to the new strategy upon which the Decade is based, the fundamental purposes and principles of disarmament negotiations. In that respect the Romanian delegation wishes to point out, first of all, the importance of enshrining in the programme the fact that the aim of all disarmament negotiations and agreements must be to strengthen the peace and security of all peoples and of the whole international community in an atmosphere of relaxation of tension and mutual trust in relations between States.

23. It is to the final aim -- general disarmament and in the first instance nuclear disarmament --, to the elimination finally and in fact of the use of force and the threat of its use in relations between States, that all efforts made towards disarmament and all results achieved from them must be subordinated. The real value of each disarmament agreement, as we see it, is to be measured by its contribution to the achievement of that objective.

24. At the same time it is necessary to lay down the basic principle that the negotiations and all international instruments dealing with disarmament must conform strictly with the right of States to independence and national sovereignty and to their independent existence without outside interference, and also with their equal right to peace and security in international relations.

25. It is highly important to state in the programme the need for strict compliance with the principles of the United Nations Charter on non-recourse to force and the threat of the use of force, the solution of international disputes by peaceful means,

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and the development of friendly relations between States based upon the norms of international law.

26. In this part devoted to purposes and principles it might be possible to include also some of the ideas concerning the link between disarmament and security, between disarmament and development, and so on.

27. In drafting the first part of the programme for the Decade it would be possible to utilize in the first instance important international documents in which most of the fundamental purposes and principles I have just mentioned are already formulated. We are thinking first and foremost of the United Nations Charter. At the same time we have in mind the provisions of article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament, and in particular the well-known resolution 1378 (XIV) of 20 November 1959, which provides that the fundamental task of this Committee is the elaboration of a treaty on general disarmament. We are also thinking of the resolutions which lay down the pre-eminence of nuclear disarmament, and resolution 1722 (XVI) of 20 December 1961, which approved the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations (ENDC/5). In that category the final declaration and the resolutions adopted by the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States (A/7277, para. 17) might also be included.

28. Secondly, concerning measures leading to the cessation of the armaments race and to disarmament, the Romanian delegation considers that this category should include the following groups of problems:

(a) The negotiation and drafting of a treaty on general disarmament, as the fundamental objective.

As the final aim of disarmament negotiations, established by the United Nations in General Assembly resolution 1378 (XIV) and reaffirmed in many other documents adopted by the United Nations and in other circumstances over the years, general disarmament must be stated to be the primary task of the Decade. When practical measures to facilitate the drafting of an international instrument on general disarmament are being established, it is necessary to take account also of the provisions of resolution 2454 B (XXIII), in which the General Assembly of the United Nations asks our Committee —

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"... to make renewed efforts towards achieving substantial progress in reaching agreement on the question of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, and urgently to analyse the plans already under consideration and others that might be put forward ..." (ENDC/237)

(b) The adoption without delay of measures aimed at slowing, reducing and halting the armaments race.

The need to implement such measures without further delay is dictated by the disturbing proportions to which military arsenals and more particularly the stockpiles of means of mass destruction have grown, also by the armaments race, whose rate of growth constantly increases. The dimensions and dynamics of the expenditure on armaments are eloquent testimony to that need. Because of that fact, which cannot and must not be overlooked for a moment, a freeze and a reduction of the military budgets of all States are measures that demand particular attention.

In the same category must be included measures whose implementation might put a brake on the qualitative component of the nuclear arms race or prevent its extension to uncontaminated environments — for example the prohibition of underground nuclear-weapon tests, and demilitarization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor.

Similarly, we should envisage measures to improve the international climate and to strengthen the security of States and peaceful co-operation — that is to say: firm guarantees of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States; firm commitments by virtue of a mandatory and universal international instrument not to resort to force or to the threat of the use of force and not to interfere, in any way whatever or in any circumstances, in the domestic affairs of other States; the prohibition of military manoeuvres on the territories of other States; the prohibition of the creation of new military bases and the emplacement of new nuclear weapons on foreign territories; measures aimed at liquidating military bases on the territories of other States; withdrawal of troops within the limits of their national frontiers; measures to abolish military blocs.

(c) Another group of measures concerns the drafting and conclusion of agreements in the nuclear field.

The most urgent of these are prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons; cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, including the production of

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special fissionable materials for military purposes and transfer of stocks of these to use for peaceful purposes; reduction and eventual liquidation of nuclear arsenals and means of delivery. Similarly, the Decade programme must provide for the outlawing and destruction of all other categories of weapons of mass destruction — chemical, bacteriological, radiological, and so on.

(d) In the context of disarmament measures which must be incorporated in the programme for the Decade, the reduction of conventional armaments and of the strength of armed forces has real importance.

(e) The Romanian delegation is in favour of the adoption of effective measures of disarmament and security at the regional level, in view of the positive effects they would have both for the given regions and on the improvement of the political climate in general, and supports their inclusion in the programme for the Decade. We give a central place among regional measures to the establishment of denuclearized zones in different regions of the world, accompanied by appropriate security guarantees.

29. Thirdly, the Romanian delegation believes that it would be necessary to include, in the category of ways and means to put the programme for the Disarmament Decade into effect, a group of measures designed to ensure its implementation, in view of the scope and urgency of its objectives. We are convinced that, thanks to sustained efforts, actively supported by the political will, to factors of decision and negotiation -- deployed here in our Committee, in the General Assembly of the United Nations and its First Committee, and in the United Nations Disarmament Commission — disarmament problems will be solved in conformity with the will of the peoples and with their legitimate interests. Periodic examination in the General Assembly or the Disarmament Commission of the manner in which the measures envisaged in the programme for the Decade are implemented will provide an opportunity to look at the results of the disarmament negotiations and to see whether their pace and rhythm are conforming to the criteria and priorities established by common agreement.

30. In our view it is essential to establish the conditions necessary to ensure the participation in disarmament negotiations of all interested States. Since we take a dynamic attitude towards negotiation, we are for speeding the disarmament negotiations and improving the Committee's activities, structure, and forms and methods of work.

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At the same time we support the opinions expressed also by the representatives of other States members of the Committee in favour of parallel negotiations on several agreements: on general disarmament, nuclear disarmament and a group of partial measures.

31. With regard to the Secretariat of the United Nations, we believe that favourable conditions exist for increasing its contribution to the execution of the programme for the Decade through expansion of its practice of compiling well-informed studies and reports on various disarmament problems, which might assist the negotiations.

32. I have just outlined a scheme suggested by the Romanian delegation for the pattern and basic structure of the programme for the Disarmament Decade which our Committee has been called upon to draft. At the same time the Romanian delegation means to adopt a constructive attitude and to show itself receptive to other delegations' proposals and suggestions designed to contribute to the establishment of a programme which might meet the requirements of such a document and obtain a wide consensus.

33. It is the duty of our Committee to establish, through the efforts of all its members without any exception, the Decade programme required by the General Assembly and to submit it for examination and completion at the Assembly's twenty-fifth session. It is easy to imagine the situation of our Committee at that session of the General Assembly -- which will make a global evaluation of the principal international problems of the present time, amongst which the armaments race and disarmament occupy an important place -- if for some reason it could not submit a draft programme for the Disarmament Decade.

34. That is exactly why we consider it necessary to redouble our efforts during this period, and that both the nuclear-weapon States and the non-nuclear-weapon States that are members of our Committee can contribute to the task that we must carry out, so that, after the official debate and the informal working discussions, they may agree upon a draft programme. We must consider this task in the light of the provisions of article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which enshrines the undertaking of States parties --

> "... to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament ..."

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It emerges clearly, therefore, that the programme for the Disarmament Decade can be an important incentive to respect for those obligations.

35. The Romanian delegation expresses its confidence that all the delegations round this table will do their best -- and it is absolutely necessary for them to do so -- to establish this programme. It is in the light of the achievement of that urgent task of the Committee that it will be necessary also to consider the duration of the work of the present session. The Romanian delegation is prepared to continue to co-operate by making, together with the other delegations, its full and complete contribution towards the drafting of the programme for the Disarmament Decade.

36. Mr. VEJVODA (Czechoslovakia): Permit me to introduce in a few words the Czechoslovak working paper (CCD/299) which has been issued today. It is not our intention in presenting that working paper to make a further contribution to the expert consideration of the highly technical aspects that have been dealt with here in a number of working papers issued recently on the question of chemical and bacteriological weapons, especially in the field of verification. In our working paper we have attempted to point not only to certain technical aspects but also to some important political aspects of the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological weapons. We are of the opinion that it may be of help to this Committee to have at its disposal a working paper which points out that the conclusion of a treaty or convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological weapons and on the destruction of such weapons, as well as the verification of that prohibition, is not a matter so complicated that it could not be solved in the near future; and that a treaty such as that envisaged in the draft presented at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations by the socialist countries (A/7655) would be not only right but also practicable.

The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

"The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament today held its 485th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador George Ignatieff, representative of Canada.

"Statements were made by the representatives of Romania and Czechoslovakia.

"The delegation of Czechoslovakia submitted a working paper on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and on the destruction of such weapons (CCD/299).

"The delegation of Canada submitted a working paper on the verification of prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and the use of chemical and biological weapons (CCD/300).

"The delegation of Japan submitted a working paper on the question of the prohibition of chemical weapons (CCD/301).

"The delegation of Yugoslavia submitted a working paper on the elements for a system of control of the complete prohibition of chemical and biological weapons (CCD/302).

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Tuesday, 11 August 1970, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 11.20 a.m.